Invocation to God

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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BAPU'S BAPA

"You are growing younger day by day. Beginning with the Harijans you have progressively become Bapa to the Bhils, to the Assamese Tribals, and now to the Santhals. What earthly use can an ocean of philanthropy like you have for the droplet of my blessings? But since little drops make the ocean, as the old adage says, you have my blessings which you can appropriate for what they might be worth," wrote Gandhiji to Thakkarbapa in 1941 on the occasion of the latter's seventy-second birthday. Gandhiji has had many distinguished lieutenants, some of whom became celebrated later in their own right in our national history, but he had only one Bapa — Shri Amritlal V. Thakkar, who by stepping into the order of India's distinguished octogenarians has rendered obsolete the Psalmist's allotted "three score years and ten" and let us hope, will continue to do so for many more years to come.

For, India needs him and will need him and his like more and more to realize the contents of independence in terms of those for whom the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership struggled to win it, viz. the lowliest and the lost, without which the political independence that we have won must remain an empty mirage.

Thakkarbapa is pre-eminently the champion of lost causes. Is there fire, flood, famine or cyclone havoc, in Orissa, Assam, Bengal or Bombay or a struggle for the emancipation of women, the Harijans or the Aborigines? Well, Thakkarbapa is sure to be there in the thick of the melee. The causes which he has espoused and made his own would fill the normal span of a man's life many times over. And yet his greed knows no bounds. He still goes on adding more and more to the stupendous burden which he is already carrying. The only parallel to it that suggests itself to one is, perhaps, that of the late Deenabandhu Charlie Andrews. But Bapa has outrun C. F. Andrews in the race of years.

To his indefatigable and tireless industry and hard work he joins erudition, scientific method and a loving humanitarian heart, a rare combination in one who aspires to dedicate himself to the service of *Daridranarayan*. Gandhiji, who prided himself on being a lynx-eyed fisher of men, spotted these rare qualities in Thakkarbapa early. He learnt soon to prize his regular methodical habits, the result of long training and rigorous self-discipline, strictly regulated life, and the qualities of meticulous exactness and precision which he himself embodied in his person to such an eminent degree and which he regarded as essential weapons in the armoury of truth and non-violence. But what he prized in Bapa even more was his unassailable integrity, personal purity, and the spirit of uttermost renunciation and self-dedication. The character of weapons depends upon the technique of fight, and the revolutionary non-violent technique which Gandhiji had devised and sought to perfect called forth a new set of values and norms of action in national workers, wholly different from what one had been familiar with before. The difference was best illustrated in his plan of the crusade against untouchability, following upon the epic fast also known as the Yeravda fast which he launched from behind the prison walls. The issue was no less than complete eradication in law as well as in actual practice of the pernicious system of "untouchability" that had its roots in centuries of unreasoning prejudice and case-hardened orthodoxy masquerading as religion. To achieve that goal the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh was founded — a body novel, revolutionary, and paradoxical in its theory, constitution, organization, and method. Success would depend upon successful kindling and harnessing of the spiritual resources of the people. And who could be worthier to be entrusted with the newly born Sangh as its Secretary than Thakkabapa? Thereafter his relationship with the Sangh and with Gandhiji became like that of a Hindu wife — life-long and indissoluble. Later when once he wanted to resign from it to be free to devote more of his time to the problem of the Aboriginal Tribes, Gandhiji in his inimitable style wrote to him:

> "There is no limit to your greed. By all means satisfy it to the top of your bent. Your Secretaryship (of the Harijan Sevak Sangh) surely is no hindrance. You and Ghanashyamdasji have jointly undertaken responsibility for the Sangh. Now death alone can release you from it. He as well as I need your moral strength and self-dedication. Your Secretaryship symbolizes it. You can give as much of your time as you like to the Adivasis while discharging your duty as Secretary of the Sangh. You do not mean to tell me that you will want to resign even after that

latitude. Just for your sake I have detained... Not that a substitute could not be found. But the eradication of the sin of untouchability calls for the moral force of the pure in heart. Do not forget that the irreligion of untouchability is today being sanctified as religion. That is not so in the case of the Adivasis. I therefore do not mind your dedicating yourself to the service of the Adivasis, but it must not be at the cost of the Harijans".

And Bapa has stuck to the Sangh ever since.

When Gandhiji went to Noakhali on his "Do or Die" mission of healing and mercy, Thakkarbapa accompanied him there and became a soldier of non-violence in the truest sense of the term. Unarmed and unaided, discarding the protection of the police and the military he roamed at large over riot-torn villages, infusing courage among the awe-stricken riot victims by the force of his personal example and disseminating the message of good will and peace among the Hindus and Muslims alike. The local miscreants soon learnt to respect him and the Noakhali officials to make discretion the better part of their valour when confronted by his formidable array of facts and figures in a controversy.

Since the abolition of untouchability in law by the Indian Constituent Assembly, the struggle against untouchability to Thakkarbapa's mind has broadened into the wider struggle for the uplift and emancipation of the so-called aboriginal and backward elements in India. To carry on the good fight he has helped to found the All India Adimjati Sevak Sangh with the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendraprasad and even sacrificed his cloistered peace by agreeing to go into the Constituent Assembly. "The struggle must go on," he told me the other day in answer to my question, "till the goal of an equalitarian, casteless social order is realized." He has no illusion that it will come in his life time, but that does not deter him or damp his ardour. For, he knows that the prize is in the process. He seeks no other consolation than to be able to alleviate the anguish of the sorrowing and the suffering which is its own reward.

Unlike the general run of social reformers whose record lacks the full stamp of authenticity owing to the absence of what Frank Harris called "the decoration of the shadow of prison bars on their breast," Thakkarbapa's reformist zeal and integrity have taken him into the temple of freedom that prison under an unjust Government becomes. It was in connection with the picketing of liquor shops.

Gandhiji was in the habit of surrounding himself with a bodyguard of what he used to call his "conscience keepers". Among them Thakkarbapa held a place all his own, and on a memorable occasion, which is of too intimate and sacred a character to narrate here, was able to make him reverse a decision when all others had failed.

At four score years he is still going strong. Failing eyesight has failed to impair his tempo. Every night before he retires to bed he dictates his daily diary and has the accounts of the institutions with which he is connected read out to him. For he is always alert and anxious to render full account to his Task Master under whose eye and in whose cause he ceaselessly labours and toils.

The secret of his perennial youth is his rare devotion to duty and abiding faith in humanity and God which enables him to be careful for nothing and to sing virtually with the zest and abandon of a youth in his teens in spite of the burden he is carrying as he once actually did at a prayer meeting at Gandhiji's instance. May he live long to inspire by his living example our youth to grow into worthy servants of the nation.

Delhi, 30-10-'49 PYARELAL

MORE ABOUT VISITING PACIFISTS

Here are a few more notes about some of the visitors who are attending the World Pacifist Meetings. I hope the publication of these notes will not be embarrassing for them.

First, let us continue the European list. Constantly we have been asked whether we have anyone from the Soviet world. Alas, the answer is "No". We tried to find some faithful Tolstoyan who could come, but our effort was not successful. However, it may be interesting to note that the Danish friend, Aage Jorgensen, is a man who has been under Tolstoyan influence for many years, and has lived at Tolstoy's home, Yasnaya Polyana, in Russia. He says that it was through Tolstoy's writings that he became interested in Gandhiji.

Then, we have two visitors coming from Finland, a country which is one of the few windows between Russia and the Western world. One of these, Yrjo Kallinen, has been a Minister in the Finnish Government. As a life-long pacifist he had the congenial job of demobilizing the Finnish army after the recent war and getting them back into civil occupations. When I visited his home in the summer of 1948, I found his shelves lined with books of Indian religion and philosophy, but this is his first visit to India.

His compatriot is a man barely half his age, who, as a conscientious objector to military service, spent years in a labour camp under harsh conditions. Now he is trying to revolutionize the conditions of life in a small manufacturing town which is his parish; but it is a peaceful revolution that he is helping to achieve. His name is Erik Ewalds.

Dr. Karel Hujer has lived most of his life in Czechoslovakia. He is a famous astronomer and physicist. He has travelled so widely and knows so many languages that he is already a world citizen. Today he works in an American University. He spent a year in India some time

ago. He has been actively connected with peace groups in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

Three delegates are from France. Mme Magda Trocme was one of those who reached India in the middle of November, and has already met many Indian workers. Although she comes from France she personifies the international spirit, for, as she proudly says, her own children have four grandparents, one Russian, one Italian, one German and one French. She herself was brought up in Italy. She and her husband have started a school where they try to instil the spirit of non-violence. Her husband was taken to a concentration camp duing the war, because he sheltered Jews. He was offered his release if he would sign a paper stating that he would be obedient to General Petain. This, he was told, was a pure formality. But he said it was contrary to his conception of truth to sign a paper which he did not mean to carry out, so he returned to the camp.

Henri Roser, like Magda Trocme, is an active leader in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He has suffered in many ways for his pacifist principles. The missionary society, for which he had trained, refused to appoint him. Finally he was able to obtain work in a small slum parish, where he has devoted himself to the well-being of the workers.

Jerome Sauerwein is a young French lawyer, who fought through the war, but has since become a convinced pacifist.

Rene Bovard, from Switzerland, is also a soldier converted to pacifism. He is actively interested in the Service Civil International, the international peace brigades first organized by Pierre Ceresole. He has been led to the conviction that, even for a small country like Switzerland, armed defence is a kind of protective armour to hide the fear in men's hearts. A truly fearless man would have no use for armed protection.

Now, let us turn to Africa. From South Africa we expect to have three delegates. Manilal Gandhi needs no introduction. He is travelling from South Africa with Dr. Davidson Jabavu. Professor Jabavu was on the staff of Fort Hare Native College for many years, and he is the author of many books and pamphlets. He is founder of a Native Farmers' Association, and of the Cape Native Teachers' Association.

Rev. Michael Scott, who has been representing the South-West African tribes at Lake Success, also hopes to come in time for the Santiniketan session.

David Acquah is a young man from the Gold Coast who studied at the London School of Economics during the recent war, married an English Quaker woman, and is now a welfare officer under the Gold Coast Government.

From New Zealand comes A. C. Barrington. In New Zealand conscientious objection to war is not popular. Barrington has been arrested five times, "marched out" of town by ex-servicemen three times, repeatedly fined, has had his house searched and his papers confiscated. In the end, the courts recognized his sincerity and gave him unconditional exemption from military service. He is now a member of a Pacifist Community, who live simply, sharing their possessions.

John Fallding, a young man from Australia, has worked in various employments and is now Cost Accountant at a hospital in Sydney. Influenced by the writings of Tolstoy he has been an active worker for the Australian Peace Pledge Union, and similar organizations.

It seems likely that nearly a dozen of the sixty visitors will be from the United States, in addition to one from Canada, Mrs. Mildred Fahrni, who has been in India before on a short visit, when she met Gandhiji, and at least one Latin American, Heberto Sein, who for many years has been an official interpreter for the International Labour Office in Geneva.

The Americans include Richard Gregg, who, as the well-known author of *The Power of Non-violence*, is sure of a very warm welcome on his return to India after many years.

I am afraid I cannot supply brief biographies for most of the American visitors, but at least one can say a few things about them. A. J. Muste and John Nevin Sayre and Kathleen Sayre are among the chief stalwarts of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the former is a writer of distinction.

Ray Newton, Tartt Bell, Bessie Lee Knox and Grace Rhoads are all Quakers, though the last-named is the appointed representative of the Women's International League.

Oxie Miller is a leading member of the Mennonite Church, which is one of those known in America as "Historic Peace Churches". Paul Erb is editor of the chief Mennonite newspaper in America, whilst George Paine is another leading religious writer. In the 1930's he paid several visits to Russia. He has also worked hard for the improvement of race relations.

Robert Steele edits one of the most important religious papers in America.

It is hoped that Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard (Negro) University will also come.

There are still, at the moment of writing, one or two gaps in the Asian list, though three from Japan and two from China have arrived in Calcutta in good time, and Professor Nafici from Persia is another early arrival. Perhaps something more adequate about the Asian visitors can be published later.

Someone who saw the first party to leave Europe wrote: "What an array of simple, powerful people!" Perhaps that would be a good description for most of the visitors from all the Continents. Many have withstood derision and misrepresentation for years, but they remain non-violent not only in act but in spirit, which is often harder.

HORACE ALEXANDER

HARIJAN

December 4 1949

INVOCATION TO GOD

That very active parliamentarian at the Centre, Shri H. V. Kamath, suggested to the Constituent Assembly the other day that the Constitution of the Indian Republic should commence with an invocation to God. I do not think there was anything to be ridiculed about or to be ashamed of in the suggestion. I wonder whether it was brushed aside unceremoniously because it came from Shri Kamath, who seems to have made himself rather tiresome to his brother representatives, by not allowing any period of silence to himself, whatever may be the topic under discussion. Or, is it that in this age of atomic research, Atom appears to be mightier Deity than God, and the constitution-framers would rather usher in the new constitution in the name of the Mighty Atom than of God, as the hero in Marie Corellie's novel of that name did?

It is not very important whether God is formally mentioned or no in the constitution. The more fundamental thing is our approach and attitude in engaging ourselves in this task of constitution-making. In all our activities we work either for something very grave and great and with a feeling of reverential awe and loving devotion, or for something which is wicked, mean and selfish and with a feeling of contempt, fear, revelry and violence. The former, though unmistakably felt, is something nameless, undefinable, unanalysable and therefore, never properly expressible by a word or phrase, which is capable of being applied to anything concrete or conceivable. The best word is, therefore, one which is just arbitrary, beyond the reach of grammar, etymology or meaning-book. Most languages have at least one such word, such as Om, Allah, God and the like. Every one of these is equally good or, if you wish to say so, equally vague. It is best to leave it as it is, without trying to define or explain it, or to provide for it synonyms made with the help of grammar and etymology. " God is God alone, and God is nothing but God." If you wish, you might substitute Om or Allah for God, but you stop there. When you begin to explain God with other words as Lord, Father, Creator, Judge, Truth, Love, Bliss, Peace, Rama, Krishna, Christ, Shakti, and the like, you bring down God within the limits of something which you know or can conceive of. They or any of them may help an invidual, group or people in fixing some very high but nevertheless concrete and conceivable target to work for in life, and to make it the medium of his approach to God. These words may also enable him to give linguistic expression to his feelings of reverence, awe, love, devotion etc. But God is greater and beyond any of these targets and expressions, being the Ultimate Being and Purpose of Life. To Him all acts have to be assigned. Unless we mean to dedicate our acts to the opposite of God, namely Satan, or Devil, or Asura — which group of words too, though not so inconceivable and undefinable as God, perhaps comes next to it and is also arbitrary there is no reason for the nation to feel shy of owning God and dedicating to Him its noblest and most serious act of life.

Wardha, 23-11-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

A BASELESS STORY

At page 101 of his book, *Mahatma Gandhi — An Interpretation*, Mr. E. Stanley Jones writes:

> " A hitherto unpublished account of an incident in Noakhali was given by a highly placed newspaperman who was not allowed at the time to publish it for obvious reasons. But he now gives me permission to publish it.
>
> " When the Mahatma would trudge from village to village on his peace mission, the *goondas* (bad characters) would flee before him, afraid to face him. Those who did come and face him almost always were converted by the Mahatma and promised to hold themselves responsible for keeping the peace. He arranged with the Government that no one should be arrested in his prayer meetings. One Muslim came and was unaffected by the Mahatma. He grabbed the Mahatma by the throat and choked him till he was blue in the face. In the midst of it the Mahatma kept on smiling and even laughing. The absence of resistance and even of resentment so unnerved the attacker that he desisted. Later he came and fell at the Mahatma's feet and begged forgiveness for what he had done. The Mahatma carried on as though nothing had happened."

This story has since been translated in some of the Indian languages also. I made inquiries of Shri Satishbabu, Shri Pyarelal, Shri Manu Gandhi, Shri Abha Gandhi and others, who accompanied Gandhiji during his Noakhali mission, to ascertain the truth about this story, or even if there was anything near about it. Manu Gandhi ever since she joined Gandhiji in December, 1946 in Noakhali was always with him until his death. She is positive that no such event happened from December, '46 to January, '48, whether in Noakhali, Calcutta, Bihar or any other place, and she never heard of any such occurrence having taken place before her joining. Others also never saw or heard of any such occurrence. The story must be regarded a pure imagination by a journalist and it is to be regretted that Mr. Stanley Jones put credence in it and published it without proper enquiries. As it is a world-famous book, likely to be translated in other languages, he would do well to delete this account being quite without foundation.

Wardha, 20-11-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

FOR PACIFISTS

By Mahatma Gandhi

" Gandhiji's cure is very radical and far-reaching. It demands nothing less than rooting out violence from oneself and from one's environment." —Bharatan Kumarappa

Pages viii, 106 Price Re. 1-4-0 Postage etc. As. 3

THE WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

The first session of the World Pacifist Meeting must have already sat for four days when this issue is published. I have to miss it for reasons of health. Mr. Horace Alexander has already given an introduction to a few of the foreign friends in a previous issue. He has followed it up with that of a few more in this one. They are foreigners only in the sense that they do not live in India. But a few of them have been in India before and have served here. A pacifist has to be a world citizen in spirit, even if he does not renounce his citizenship of a particular country, and confines his actual services to his immediate neighbourhood. Wherever he goes, he has to indentify himself with the people of that place, and take them as they are with their good and bad points, as one takes the members of one's family and immediate neighbourhood, and still loves them and calls them '*my* people'.

The people who are meeting at Santiniketan are not famous statesmen or politicians of the world, with the exception of two or three. A majority of them are not politicians but have suffered long terms of imprisonment and detention in jails or concentration camps for refusing to take part in war. Among others some of them might be compared with the Harijans and Harijan *sevaks* of our country, i. e. members or friends of the downtrodden peoples in the West, like the Negroes and the Jews. Almost all are, what we call here, 'constructive workers' and seekers of the way of life which would eliminate as much as possible all those causes which create strife between man and man and among communities and nations.

One of the institutions with which a few visitors are connected is the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is an international organization and has branches or independent, but like, institutions in different parts of the world. Each appears to be somewhat like our *ashramas*, where workers live together, work together, lead a simple life and serve their neighbourhood or go out for service to any part of the world to render assistance to people in distress.

These friends observe no barriers of colour, creed or country, but regard all humanity as one. They have come to lay before us their problems and to understand ours and to see where joint deliberations will lead us all to. The Master, to whom both we and they looked to for guidance, is unfortunately no longer with us. And so we all are on the same level — humble seekers of light directly from the Spirit.

Let us watch these deliberations with prayer and hope.

Wardha, 24-11-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE

I feel that we must not expect much from governments. Not that they do not want world peace. But they are all caught in a vicious circle. They fight one another and are also afraid of one another. Our work lies among the masses. We must reach the peasants, the labourers, the scientists, the students and the teachers and convert them to non-violence. Ultimately it is the labourers who become the limbs of war and scientists its helpmates. Teachers and students justify it and the masses in their simplicity believe that it is all for their good. We must establish direct contact with all these. This is possible only through their service. If along with service we purify our own lives, we may become receptacles of God's Light. After all it is He who will achieve it. We can only be tools in His hands. But in order to be such tools we must be altogether humble and reduce ourselves to zero. Much emphasis is laid upon 'organization' in this age. But mere organization cannot produce the *light* of non-violence. It can be produced only through purification of life and when it is produced it will be propelled by its own internal force.

Pavnar, 28-11-'49 VINOBA

(Translated from Hindi)

GARRY DAVIS AND HIS SYMPATHIZERS

An interesting development in the cause of pacifism has been reported in the *Peace News* of 14th October, 1949.

Garry Davis, a young American ex-bomber pilot in the last war, became towards its end a convert to the cause of pacifism, which in his own words "means not only turning the other cheek, but also loving the enemy, for the enemy is also a part of mankind, however misdirected." This is what "Jesus, Buddha, Lao Tsu, Tolstoy, St. Francis of Assisi, Gandhi and other great thinkers and religious leaders have taught."

Davis was in France at that time. On 25th May, 1948, he renounced his U.S.A. citizenship and handed in his passport at the U.S. Embassy in Paris. He declared himself a World Citizen, believing that mankind is one and national barriers a hindrance to world unity. His French visa expired in September, 1948, and so he became thereafter liable to be expelled from France at any moment. The French Government however not only permitted him to live in Paris without papers but he and his colleagues were welcomed by President Auriol, last December, who expressed his sympathy with his stand. So he would have been still living there unmolested by the French authorities but for another development in France itself.

France has a law of compulsory military service, from which even conscientious objectors are not exempted as they are in Britain, Canada, U.S.A., and several other countries. Jean Moreau, a young French conscript, was arrested on September 10th for the second time for re-

fusing military conscription. He had been previously arrested in November, 1948 for the same offence and had served his term already. And, unless the law is modified or world peace is assured, the same process must be repeated over and over again until probably the age-limit of compulsory service is past. Jean Moreau has also declared himself "a World Citizen and a Christian willing to serve in an international police force to enforce democratically agreed upon world law, or in the meantime to work in civil reconstruction, in place of learning the art of killing his fellow man in national strife."

Now the position of Garry Davis in relation to Jean Moreau's arrest is this :

> "I am in France as a 'guest' at full liberty and with no identifying papers — clearly an infraction of French law. I serve no national army, nor will I, believing the same as Moreau, and I pay no national taxes for national 'defence'. Only my moral stand as a World Citizen has allowed me this liberty and privilege............Moreau, however, upon expressing the same convictions is regarded in the eyes of French law as a common criminal, and sentenced to imprisonment. Therefore, if French law regards moral convictions as a criminal offence, I am prepared to accept that title, and must then humbly seek my punishment by asking to serve with the other 'criminal'. Until proper legislation is passed by the National Assembly or guaranteed morally by President Auriol, thereby releasing Moreau and any others under the same category, I see no other alternative."

So, on September 13th, he addressed a letter to President Auriol asking the Government to send him to prison in the same way as Moreau and thereafter moved himself before the door of the military prison of Paris. As this amounted to breach of police regulations, he was arrested in ordinary course. He was kept in custody for about a week, and then tried for 'being in France without identity papers'! As there was nothing clandestine about this, having been done with the full knowledge and consent of the President and members of the Government, the magistrate considered that "there were extenuating circumstances in his case and gave a sentence of eight days' imprisonment." As this period had been already served, it meant immediate release. Now the French authorities are thinking hard how to get rid of this "awkward customer", who belongs to no nation. The Municipality of Heren in Germany has offered him asylum. It is to be seen whether Davis will avail himself of it or refuse to leave France in order to work for his cause.

In the meantime a few pacifists of U.S.A. staged a sympathetic demonstration in Columbia (Washington). This is what Roy Kepler, the Pacifist correspondent of the *Peace News*, says in his report :

> "On Tuesday, October 4, the day Davis was to come up for trial in Paris, a group of us went to Washington to the French Embassy. A five-person delegation went into the Embassy with a letter stating our solidarity with Davis and asking the hospitality of the Embassy for the day, so that a vigil might be maintained on French territory. Meanwhile a second group walked in front of the Embassy with posters calling for freedom of conscience in France and the world, and calling for people to join with us and Garry Davis in seeking world unity through non-violence and a break with war. The Embassy called the U. S. State Department which in turn called the Washington police. After almost an hour of poster walking, and with our delegation still sitting inside refusing to leave, the police arrived. The picketers were ordered not to picket within 500 feet of the Embassy. Upon refusal to cease picketing, they were arrested and trundled into police van. In the meantime the French very politely, and with high good humour and much *savoir-faire* carefully and gently carried each of the five to the sidewalk in front of the Embassy."

Thereafter they too were arrested by the police for disorderly conduct, etc. Having refused to give bonds, they were locked up for the night and put up before the magistrate next morning. The judge fined each participant 25 dollars or 30 days' imprisonment. Having learned by that time that Garry Davis had been freed in Paris all except one of the group paid the fine.

From such a long distance and in the absence of knowledge of every detail of the facts, it would be hazardous to express too definite an opinion on such experiments in resistance to civil laws. Ultimately it is the *satyagrahi* himself, who must decide according to his own discretion. The case of Garry Davis raises important issues, which should be carefully considered by Pacifists. That France should exempt conscientious objectors from military service is a legitimate demand. But what should be the rights and duties of "World Citizens" in the State, in which they are actually residing for the time being, is a matter which requires to be carefully considered. It seems to me that he should regard himself for the time a citizen of the State in which he resides, so far as duties to that State are concerned, but claiming no rights in it and seeking no protection as of right. What is particularly needed for the World Citizen is, in my opinion, to cease to be conscious of his nationality wherever he happens to stay for the time being, or to express the same thing in other words, to be a full Indian in India, a full Pakistani in Pakistan, a full Chinese in China, and so on, rendering duties but claiming no rights. He *dissolves* himself in his immediate neighbourhood, as sugar does in milk to enhance its sweetness. This duty, of course, will be subject to the exception that he will not participate in any programme involving violence. This exception arises not from his being a World Citizen but from his creed of non-violence. It is conceivable that Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* would not have regarded non-participation in war as the *sine qua non* of World Citizenship.

While the action of Garry Davis appears to be in order, if resorted to in the proper spirit, that of his Washington sympathizers does not

from this distance appeal to me. Such sympathetic demonstrations were the order of the day in India during the various Satyagraha campaigns. Symbolic strikes, sympathetic hunger-strikes, etc. are also often staged here. My own feeling has been opposed to such symbolic demonstrations. They do not further the cause of Satyagraha, often lead to violence, if not in action, in speech, gesture and mental attitude. If the police takes the demonstrators seriously, there is heat generated on both sides and also in the spectators assembled; if it does not, it ends in a merry-show, often at the cost of the police, who have to perform a thankless job. In this particular demonstration, the squatters had to be lifted bodily as they refused to move. One of them was too heavy and could not be made to stand on his legs. On-lookers enjoyed the scene and took photos of the show. How would this help the cause of Garry Davis? The French Embassy in U.S.A. could not have helped it, even if it was sympathetic towards the object. Such scenes have often taken place in India. I have always doubted the wisdom of performing them. A *satyagrahi* should generally, as soon as escorted by the policeman, thereafter walk with him without protest until he is released. If he is released on his way, he might consider whether he should repeat the same process or think of some other technique.

I feel also that a *satyagrahi* should not pay fines, but elect to serve his term of imprisonment. These comments are, however, all with an open mind and if the full picture is before me, are capable of being modified. Ultimately each *satyagrahi* has to decide for himself and if he does so in the spirit of truth and non-violence, even if he commits a mistake, he will quickly perceive it.

Of greater practical importance is the question in regard to passports raised by Heinz Kraschutzki in his article published elsewhere.

Wardha, 22-11-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

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FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

One of the questions for consideration sent to all those attending the World Pacifist Meeting was: Is simplification of social structure, of dress, food, etc. a necessary foundation of peace? This omits one point, which should have been mentioned, viz. *simplification of bureaucracy*, which I think essential for the foundation of peace.

No durable peace can be established if the peoples of the world do not get to know each other better than they do now. One who has lived in any country foreign to him for a long while nearly always will say that he found the people to be rather what they are in his home country, that he got on pretty well with them.

The engineers have done their duty. They have reduced the distance from one country to another from months to weeks, to days, to hours. But meanwhile modern bureaucracy undid all that the engineers had achieved. You can get from, say, Stockholm to Athens in some hours by means of a fast plane. But it will cost you not hours, nor days, but weeks or months to overcome the obstacles modern bureaucracy has erected: To prove that you are worthy of having a passport, for which it is sometimes even necessary to go into the details of what opinions about politics or religion your grandparents held; to convince the consuls of the countries you will go to or pass that you will not start a revolution from out of the train or plane you are in; to obtain an exit permit by the military governments of such powers as happen to occupy your country and who have come to teach you democracy (though they do not agree as to what that word means), to get the financial authorities to allow you to take with you the little money you need on your way; finally to get the tickets......During all those weeks or months your working power in whatever job you have is restricted, as you have to spend many hours waiting in chilly corridors for the heroes of bureaucracy to receive you.

Things are going from bad to worse. In those bygone times when democracy was still unknown and the questionnaire not yet invented, there was more liberty in this world. Remember the year 1832. When the struggle for freedom in Poland had failed, many thousands of Polish revolutionaries fled from Russia to France, passing through some 25 German States, whose sovereigns, reactionary all to the very bones, did not dream of refusing them leave to pass their territory or even asking them for their papers, which would have been in vain, as none had any. Please compare the absolute ease with which world-famous revolutionaries like Bakunin, Marx, Blanc visited whatever country they liked to visit, with the nearly insurmountable difficulties that nowadays an honourable, non-political woman meets when trying to visit her daughter who is married in another country, and you see what "progress" has been made

since those days of dark reaction and during our time of bright "democracy".

This is what bureaucracy has brought about. We are striving for democracy and meanwhlie we live under a regime of the totalitarian questionnaire. And we are so deeply caught in this regime, that most of us, though grumbling slightly from time to time, are not even fully aware, as yet, of how horrible a regime it is.

This is not only so in respect to travel. The questionnaire-making industry must be the only one — but for the armaments industry — that works full speed today, as this pestilence has invaded every corner of our public life. Besides, forcing people to fill in questionnaires is often inducing them to tell lies. I hate lying but have been forced often to do so. When I tried to answer some of the 139 questions in the ordinary American questionnaire for Germans, asking me how much income I had had in the years 1933-1945, with the only correct answer, i. e. that I do not remember, this was not accepted, but I had to put something. How many more serious lies may there be in all those papers!

Take together the time millions of people waste waiting day by day to be admitted to the powerful men who may sit behind desks, add to it the time those gentlmen themselves waste in reading — or not reading — what they oblige you to write, and the money required to pay them for thus wasting their time and stealing that of others, and you can imagine what could be achieved in this world if it were organized in a different way.

I have known the German and the Spanish bureaucracy. I do not know which is worse. I have been an employee at an American office, where I soon lost the illusion that the Americans are smart people who like things being done quickly. I left after two months. From what I have been told by the people who know, the Russian bureaucracy is in no way better. The "New World" they try to bring about consists in another sort of questionnaire, and more of them.

When I heard that the Americans and British would bring with them, for the Potsdam Conference immediately after the war, among other things no less than 250 litres of ink, I was afraid that in that ink they would drown the peace. They did.

And why must all this be so? It is only one expression of the evil spirit that governs the world; lack of confidence. These frantic efforts, these mountains of paper and money, this army of clerks, this precious time is wasted to establish *safety* in this world — safety against political and other criminals. The military people similarly waste their enormous efforts and money and time and men for creating *safety* by armaments. But have we got safety? Nobody would say that.

Should we have less safety if we were left without armaments and without questionnaires, with everybody being free to go where-ever he or she would like? Perhaps we should have more.

There is something wrong in all this. The jurisprudence of nearly all parts of the world has established the principle — though not always observed — that a man should not be convicted unless his guilt has been proved. In case of doubt he is acquitted. Bureaucracy, more suspicious than the courts, is acting just in the opposite way. They treat everybody as a born criminal as long as he is not able to prove his innocence. I know men who have lost their records in these turbulent times and cannot prove where they were born nor to which nation they belong. They are outcasts of society, condemned to a miserable life though absolutely innocent and inoffensive.

Confidence — that is the emergency goods that is more scarce than any other in this world. Lack of confidence, that is the very base, the gospel of modern bureaucracy. Out of fear that one criminal might escape them, they treat a thousand honourable people as criminals, causing thus much more damage to all of us than that one single criminal ever could.

Is not the risk of confidence much smaller than the risk of suspicion? We pacifists, we know it, as we have got a lot of this scarcest of all commodities.

A lasting peace cannot be established unless more confidence is brought into our public life. As long as we do not learn that there is less risk in meeting one criminal from time to time than in not meeting a thousand honourable people, we shall not achieve anything.

I think it is time to recognize the danger that lies in our totalitarian bureaucracy, which is incompatible with a real peace. I even think it may be time to start a movement of non-violent resistance against it. The first thousand of us who refuse to sign stupid forms or silly questionnaires will render a good service to mankind.

Who will give the signal for the start?

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI

CONTENTS

		PAGE
BAPU'S BAPA	... PYARELAL	345
MORE ABOUT VISITING PACIFISTS	... HORACE ALEXANDER	346
INVOCATION TO GOD	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	348
A BASELESS STORY	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	348
THE WORLD PACIFIST MEETING	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	349
WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE	... VINOBA	349
GARRY DAVIS AND HIS SYMPATHIZERS	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	349
FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE	... HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI	351

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